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# Russian scientists join with Russell, Schweitzer, Trygve Lie in appeal TO THE MEN AT GENEVA

## OUTER SPACE: FOR PEACE OR WAR?

By Fenner Brockway, MP

WHO is to control space and, later, Venus and Mars (assuming the planets are not manned by more intelligent or powerful beings than ourselves)?

This question is now moving into the sphere of the practical. It is being discussed by the United Nations.

Have you noticed that it is the American army and its air force which are attempting to send rockets round the moon? The military strategists do not hide their war purpose. No doubt the Russians in their Sputnik experiments have the same thought in their minds.

The Russians are proposing at the United Nations that the 81 Member States should solemnly declare that outer space must be strictly regulated for peaceful purposes only and that a United Nations space-for-peace agency should be set up to continue the research being done under the auspices of the International Geophysical Year and to work out an agreed international programme.

### Control under UN

This is such a desirable and reasonable proposal that one would have hoped there would be no doubt about its acceptance; but there is a snag. The Americans are keen to have another year of freedom to carry on their outer-space experiments. Their remarkable achievement in their first lunar probe has made them confident that within a year they could gain a commanding lead over Russia in space invasions. So the American resolution for the General Assembly proposes that it should set up a committee to study for one year the ways in which the control of outer space may be secured under the authority of the United Nations.

At first there would appear to be little difference between the two resolutions. Both declare for United Nations control. The contrast between them is that Russia wants the establishment immediately of an agency, which would operate as well as study, whilst America wants during the crucial year a committee for study only.

### The powers manoeuvre

I am shocked by the cynical way in which the Great Powers manoeuvre for their own advantage when they are considering how to deal with dangers which threaten the life of mankind. It is the same at Geneva where representatives of America, Russia and Britain are discussing the cessation of nuclear bomb tests. Each of the Powers is only prepared to suspend tests when it has concluded its arranged programme of experiments. First it was Russia, then America and Britain, and all three hypocritically add a halo of self-righteousness to their actions and a display of moral indignation against the inhumanity of the other side. The same unlovely

Within a few days 60,000 Americans, 17,000 Germans and 150,000 Belgians joined their signatures to the distinguished names signing the appeal which was handed to the representatives of the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Great Britain meeting in Geneva to negotiate a permanent ending of nuclear weapon tests.

TWO members of the American Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy flew from New York to Geneva last week with the appeal for the ending of tests.

### 'We offer our hopes..'

This is part of the appeal to which three Russians (a musician and two scientists) added their signatures after the first announcement in Peace News on Nov. 7.

WHAT we offer you is the most precious thing human beings have to give. We offer you our hopes.

We want you to feel that your job is to help make this planet safe and fit for human habitation.

We want you to feel that you are representing not just a nation, powerful though it may be, but two billion human beings who represent the ultimate authority on earth.

No group of men in history have had a bigger or nobler chance to serve their own age and all other ages to come.

We know there may be many times during your meetings when further discussions will seem fruitless.

We know there will be in the background many voices actually pushing you in the direction of failure—for it is hard for some men to comprehend the needs and dangers of our times.

But this is not the source of your mandate. Your mandate comes from one and only one source—the sovereign will of the human community. It is to this community that you are primarily responsible...

Albert Schweitzer (Lambaréné); Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt (USA); Bertrand Russell (UK); Rev. Martin Luther King (USA); H. J. Muller (USA); Francois Mauriac (France); Dimitri Shostakovich (USSR); A. V. Topchiy (USSR); D. V. Skobel'tzyna (USSR); Lord Boyd-Orr (UK); Tadao Watanabe (Japan); Gen Carlos Ronulo (Philippines); Clarence Pickett (USA); Trygve Lie (Norway); Dr. Niemöller (Germany); Canon L. John Collins (UK); Pastor André Trocmé (France); Dr. Kagawa (Japan); C. Rajagopalachari (India); Gunnar Myrdal (Sweden); Max Born (Germany); and Norman Cousins (USA).

They were Donald Keys and Robert Gilmore. In London this week Mr. Gilmore, American Friends Service Committee (Quaker) peace worker, told Peace News:

"We didn't go to Geneva with terribly high hopes. We didn't know—from the records of past conferences—whether this was going to be one of these marking-time things.

"The reason why we mounted this campaign was, in essence, to try to raise the dignity of the conference by giving it a meaning and a popular support.

"You will notice that the appeal has no note of criticism in any place...It does not attempt to point a finger at either Russia or America or Great Britain, but it is certainly an attempt to say 'We give you our full support, you conferees in Geneva, and we are sure you will come out with a permanent test ban.'"

The appeal, Mr. Gilmore said, had been published in a full page advertisement in the New York Times.

"In the advertisement we asked readers: 'Will you go along with these world leaders and add your signature too?' We got 60,000 signatures in about nine days. Six thousand of them were gathered by students.

"We had no trouble at all in meeting the delegations in Geneva. They were very warm in their reception of us.

"Each delegate expressed warm appreciation for the support of the world leaders and their thousands of co-signers, and each stated his firm determination to achieve by patient steps the ending of nuclear weapons tests under international inspection, regardless of the time it might take."

"In our meetings with the delegates we stressed two points: that a beginning on inspection and control, no matter how small, is of very great importance, and, secondly, that the testing and control issue should be dealt with singly, and not clouded with

other questions. The importance of the precedents set and the experience gained in the accomplishment of this first step would be hard to over-estimate."

"All the conferees recognise that their mandate comes from the will of the human community as well as from their respective governments. This is indicated by the fact that our appeal and statement have been entered into the conference records by unanimous agreement.

"We became convinced that each of the representatives were actually there to talk business and to get an ending to the tests.

"A UN official said that he thought our appeal was the most helpful single issue that happened in the conference."

Many campaigners came in to support the Americans from Holland, France and Germany.

### Talks with delegates

"The Trocmés (Magda and André Trocmé of the French Fellowship of Reconciliation) and Claude Bourdet did an excellent job in France. They secured the support of a lot of scientists and of Conservatives and Moderates who signed the declaration.

"We had some very serious talks with both the delegates and the UN Secretariat in Geneva and they begged us to keep up the pressure when we got home. They felt that a critical pressure would not be helpful, but that a pressure that would keep this question in the forefront as a major issue would be so.

"If a break through could be made on the subject of the tests this might produce the new ground on which the whole nuclear question could be settled."

"The appeal made news in the USA. We had cut across the cold war boundaries with the signatures of the composer Shostakovich and two Soviet scientists who had attended the Pugwash Conference.

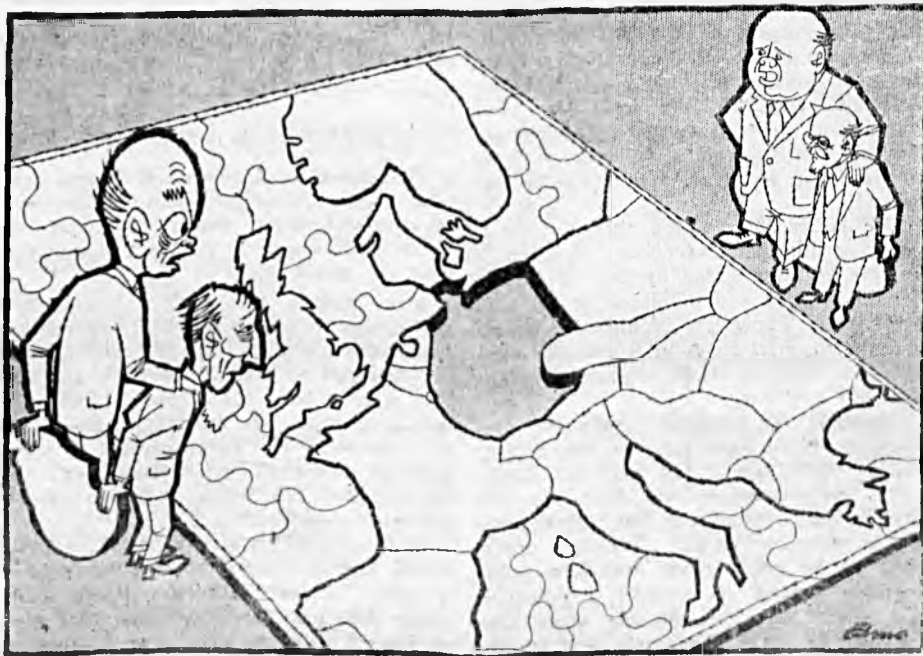
### Labour help rocket base picket

THE Executive of Wisbech Labour Party have given their support to the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War's protest against the construction of rocket bases in East Anglia, Miss April Carter, the Committee's Secretary, told Peace News on Tuesday.

The King's Lynn Secretary of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers has assisted in the organising of factory gate meetings.

The Committee's pickets have made a lot of contacts through local trade union branch meetings and have held open-air meetings at Dereham and Swaffham getting signatures to a petition against the bases.

They have interviewed the Bishop of Norwich, who was unsympathetic, and told them that he thought un-Christian tactics could be used against an un-Christian country.



"Who's got the missing piece?"

**PRISONERS FOR  
PEACE DAY****1st DECEMBER****POSTER PARADE****on Saturday, Nov. 29**Assemble at Dick Sheppard House,  
6 Endsleigh Street.

at 3 p.m.

**Monday, 1st December  
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE**will be open till 9.30 p.m.  
for sale of Christmas Cards  
List of prisoners will be available  
**PEACE PLEDGE UNION**\*\*\*\*\*  
Send Peace News  
Christmas Cards to the  
**Prisoners for Peace**  
(List to be published in PN  
on Nov. 28th)A selection of 120 suitable cards, with  
envelopes, and greetings in many languages,  
is available for 21s. post free from PEACE  
NEWS Christmas Card dept.**ENDSLEIGH CARDS,**  
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\$5 year, \$1 three months

# The case against Roosevelt

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

This is the second in our series "The Historical Blackout." Professor Harry Elmer Barnes outlines the case against President Roosevelt and the part he played at the beginning of the second World War. Professor Barnes then goes on to describe why it has been difficult to make public the facts about Roosevelt's behaviour.

Though Professor Barnes is primarily concerned with the situation in America, the situation in Britain is no better (see the letter from the English historian Russell Grenfell in our feature last week).

In America there have been several outstanding books on Roosevelt's foreign policy and the effects of "America's Second Crusade." In this country no books (except for the odd book like Emrys Hughes "Winston Churchill" and Russell Grenfell's "Unconditional Hatred") have been published which compare with these in scope or authority. And, even worse, there is not even a general recognition of the British "Historical Blackout."

AS for American entry into the second World War, the case against President Roosevelt is far more impressive and damaging than that against Woodrow Wilson, who maintained at least some formal semblance of neutrality for a time after August, 1914.

Roosevelt "lied the United States into war." He went as far as he dared in illegal efforts, such as conveying vessels carrying munitions, to provoke Germany and Italy to make war on the United States. Failing in this, he turned to a successful attempt to enter the war through the back door of Japan.

He rejected repeated and sincere Japanese proposals that even Hull admitted protected all the vital interests of the United States in the Far East, by his economic strangu-

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*Harry Elmer Barnes who contributed two articles in last week's PN in the series "The Historical Blackout" is a well-known American historian and sociologist who took a leading part in revising World War I and is now in the van of the movement to revise World War II.*  
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tion in the summer of 1941 forced the Japanese into an attack on Pearl Harbour, took steps to prevent the Pearl Harbour Commanders, General Short and Admiral Kimmel, from having their own decoding facilities to detect a Japanese attack, kept Short and Kimmel from receiving the decoded Japanese intercepts that Washington picked up and indicated that war might come at any moment, and ordered General Marshall and Admiral Stark not to send any warning to Short and Kimmel before noon on December 7, when Roosevelt knew that any warning sent would be too late to avert the Japanese attack at 1 p.m. Washington time.

**Intrigue in Europe**

Roosevelt also had a major responsibility, both direct and indirect, for the outbreak of war in Europe. He began to exert pressure on France to stand up to Hitler as early as the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936, months before he was making his strongly isolationist speeches in the campaign of 1936.

This pressure on France, and also England, continued right down to the coming of the War in September, 1939. It gained volume and momentum after the Quarantine Speech of October, 1937. As the crisis approached between Munich and the outbreak of war, Roosevelt pressed the Poles to stand firm against any demands by Germany, and urged the English and French to back up the Poles unflinchingly. From captured Polish and French archives, the Germans collected no less than five volumes of material consisting almost exclusively of Roosevelt's bellicose pressure on European countries, mainly France and Poland.

The Allies later seized them. Only a small portion has ever been published, a fraction of those seized by the Germans in Poland in 1939 and published as the German White Paper. It is highly probable that the material covering Roosevelt's pressure on England might amount to more than five volumes.

There is no probability whatever that England would have gone to war in September, 1939, had it not been for Roosevelt's encouragement and his assurances that, in the event of war, the United States would enter on the side of Britain just as soon as he could swing American public opinion around to support intervention. Yet, when the crisis became acute after August 23, 1939, Roosevelt sent several messages for the record urging that war be avoided through negotiations.

## Brainwashing and phoney warfare

DESPITE the voluminous revisionist literature which has appeared in the U.S.A. since 1945 and its sensational content, there is still virtually no public knowledge of revisionist facts some 13 years after V-J Day. The "man on the street" is just as prone to accept Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy" legend today as he was on December 8, 1941. A member of the state historical department of a leading eastern state recently wrote me that he had never heard of any revisionist movement relative to the second World War until he read my article in the Spring, 1958, issue of Modern Age.

By 1928 most literate Americans had a passable knowledge of the facts about the coming of war in 1914 and the American entry in 1917. What are the reasons for the strange contrast in the progress of realistic knowledge after 1918 and after 1945? We have already indicated the factors that have all but paralysed Revisionism in Europe since 1945, so our examination of the reasons for the blockage of knowledge may be limited to the United States.

**No time to cool off**

A main reason why Revisionism has made little headway since 1945 in attracting public attention in the United States is that the country never really had time to cool off after the War. We have pointed out above that the situation was not as acute here after 1945 as in Europe and Japan, but it was far more tense than it was in the United States in the 1920's. Even as early as the Congressional campaign and election of 1918, there was a rift in the wartime political monolith. By the campaign of 1920 disillusionment with the war had set in, and a trend toward isolation from European quarrels had begun to assert itself.

The United States refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles or to enter the League of Nations. There was a cooling off period for about twenty years after 1918. As late as 1941 the overwhelming majority of the American people wished to remain aloof from the European War, and Roosevelt had great difficulty in forcing through peacetime conscription and in getting any repeal of the neutrality legislation.

Nothing like this happened following 1945. By March, 1946, Winston Churchill was proclaiming the Cold War in his speech at Fulton, Missouri, delivered with the benediction of President Truman, and a year later Truman actually launched the Cold War. This led, in 1950, to the outbreak of a hot war in Korea.

**Orwellian technique**

The Orwellian technique of basing political tenure and bogus economic prosperity on cold and phoney warfare had taken over by 1950, to enjoy an indefinite domination over the public mind.

It is obvious that such a brainwashed and excited public is not likely to concern itself seriously with facts and writings that are designed to discredit warfare and furnish a solid basis for substantial peace. It would be about like expecting desert sheiks to concentrate on books devoted to water polo or outboard motorboat racing. The public mind has become all but impenetrable on such matters.

In the mid-1920's, for the Allies to deride Uncle Sam as "Uncle Shylock" relative to a paltry 12 billions dollars of war debts made Americans so angry that they were willing to listen to revisionist conclusions.

In the mid-1950's, even such flagrantly offensive and ungrateful gestures as "Yanks

**George Orwell**

Photo: Courtesy Tribune

Go Home," after the United States had poured tens of thousands of lives and over 65 billion dollars of foreign aid into lands across the sea, did not even register.

The Administration demanded larger foreign aid appropriations and the public appeared to approve. Congressmen like John Taber, who for years had sought to kill as many appropriations as possible which were devoted to the effort to create a better life here at home, proclaimed that foreign aid was so important that it transcended the considerations of restraint, thrift and economy which they had so long demanded of appropriations to be used within our own borders.

Another explanation of the antipathy or indifference of the public to Revisionism since 1945 is to be found in the sharply contrasting intellectual atmosphere of the 1920's and of the period since 1945. Conditions in the 1920's and early 1930's were the most conducive to independent and fearless thought of any decade in modern American history. This was the period of Mencken and Nathan, of the height of the popularity of H. G. Wells. It was an era when James Harvey Robinson's "Mind in the Making" could become a best seller, and Thorstein Veblen was the most respected American economist.

**Intellectual conformity**

Since 1945 we have run into a period of intellectual conformity unmatched since the supreme power and unity of the Catholic Church at the height of the Middle Ages. Between the pressures exerted by the Orwellian cold-war system and those which are equally powerful in the civilian or commercial world, intellectual individuality and independence have all but disappeared.

In this era of "Nineteen Eighty-four," "The Organisation Man," "The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit," the "Hidden Persuaders," and "Madison Avenue," even the average American college graduate is no more inclined to independent thinking than was a Catholic peasant during the papacy of Innocent III.

Another reason for the unprecedented resistance of Revisionism after the second World War is the fact that the liberals and radicals, who became the shock troops and spearhead of Revisionism in the 1920's, have since 1945 been overwhelmingly the chief opponents of any acceptance of revisionist facts and conclusions. They were the leaders of the war party in Britain, France and the United States for months or years before 1939 and 1941, and they have never recanted.—*Courtesy Liberation*

## Asian as Canada's Governor-General?

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A LEADING Canadian newspaper has urged that the next Governor-General of Canada be an Asian.

In an editorial on October 31 the Vancouver Sun said:

"Prime Minister Diefenbaker arrived in London on Thursday near the beginning of his world tour, and promptly announced 'the emphasis and the accent is on Asia,' particularly to Asian Commonwealth. He wants to help the Asian dominions, to tighten our bonds with the Asians, to strike a blow against racial discrimination, to establish Canada as a bridge between East and West.

"Is he going to do the one great thing that could accomplish more than a million goodwill speeches?

"Is he going to bring back an Asian Governor-General for Canada?

"The Asian people might not be able to grasp the significance of technical assistance in building an atomic pile or a few million dollars towards construction of a hydro dam. They couldn't fail to grasp the significance of a rich, white Commonwealth nation putting itself 'under' an Asian governor."

The Governor-General in a Commonwealth country, in all essential respects, holds the same position in relation to the administration of public affairs as is held by the Sovereign in Great Britain. He is appointed by the Queen on the recommendation of the Government of the country concerned and is wholly independent of the Government of the United Kingdom.

## Decline of freedom

THE decision resulting from the country's new defence policy to make Canada an outpost for US defences "is a start of the decline in Canada's 300-year struggle for freedom," 1,500 freshmen at the University of British Columbia have been told by their President, Dr. Norman A. M. MacKenzie.

The Vancouver Sun reports the President as saying:

"Twice (in the past year) we have been on the brink of war—once in the Middle East and more recently in the Strait of Formosa.

"The underlying causes of these situations have not been removed, and either or both of them may yet be the occasion of that world war which we fear and dread, and which if it does come will mean the total destruction of the world that we know."

## GRAND...

AT least, if the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund adopted an American category, it would be very nearly

"grand." With the help of an unexpected but most encouraging gift of £100 from an anonymous contributor, and one or two other generous donations, our total has risen to £930. It would be grand if we could make it £1,000 by the end of November. Indeed, I am sure you will all agree that with that example and encouragement we must do so.

Even then we still have to raise a further £250 for the PPU Headquarters Fund by the end of the year to reach our aim for 1958. But for this week let us concentrate on getting that next £70.

I am quite certain that there are 70 readers who could send £1 if they would take the trouble to write a cheque or buy a postal order. But in case they don't, I appeal to the others to express our gratitude for those who can and do contribute the larger amounts, by sending what each can afford. And, of course, if any of our American friends could help to make it a Grand, we would have nearly reached our grand total for the year. So here's hoping.

STUART MORRIS, General Secretary.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

# Schoolgirl's Peace News article inflames American columnist

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

AN American political columnist, George Sokolsky, was really inflamed recently, and it was an article in Peace News which upset him.

The cause of all the trouble was the essay on civil disobedience which gained an "A" for its author, Kathryn Larson, a 16-year-old student at Menlo-Atherton High School, and which PN published on August 1.

After reading Miss Larson's suggestion that the US must prepare for Russian occupation by organising itself for non-violent civil disobedience, the outraged Sokolsky ranted in a San Francisco daily: "This young lady has, of course, never been in a war in which no prisoners are taken because they are too expensive to feed."

He revealed the imminent danger: "50,000,000 Chinese could be transported to our country," and "if we (the US) wanted to live like Thoreau... they would bash our heads in as they do in their own country to their own people even now."

And just to show that the Chinese aren't the only people capable of such a feat Sokolsky added that "This is no reflection upon any people; it only deals realistically with the horrors of being occupied."

## IS AMERICA FREE?

Midway in his attack, however, Sokolsky trips over himself and lifts the curtain on what it is he is so concerned to defend: "the freedoms and fundamentals upon which our governments are based," for he admits that "Gandhi enjoyed... when he came to India more rights to preach subversion and revolution and civil disobedience than would be tolerated in the US or France today..."

Hardly had Sokolsky's outburst reached print than a reader indignantly cried out for the exposure of the teacher who had awarded the "A" grade for such a "shocking" essay.

Interviewed, the teacher, Horace Aubertine, explained apologetically that "after

school I discussed with Miss Larson her opinions and explained to her that her opinions were completely against that fundamental ideas and concepts of the American people." But he had awarded the "A" on the student's ability to gather and present historical data on a topic.

## MOB PSYCHOLOGY

Commenting editorially on the whole affair, the Redwood City Tribune said:

"Why does Sokolsky, the widely syndicated, nationally famed writer, train all his ponderous artillery of sarcasm and scorn on a teen-age girl's high school theme?"

"Does it bother him so very much to find that our young people actually have thoughts of their own and do not unanimously follow the popular line?"

"The case is another example of an unfortunate trend in this country toward a kind of ideological brutality. We are no longer content to merely reply to our minority voices. We begrudge their very sound. We seem vengeful toward them, and we act irritated and indignant that they dare make themselves heard.

"Sneering intolerance of minority opinion is a symptom of mob psychology. On the eve of the American Revolution some British redcoats fired on an unarmed crowd on Boston Common—the first shots of the war. Who took the job as their defence attorney? John Adams.

"We have come a long way since then."

receive a speaker on the "Alternative to Armaments." The response so far, Denis Barritt tells me, has not been good.

I would, nevertheless, commend this activity to other Groups.

Denis Barritt and some of his colleagues have at least managed to get into one Belfast "Lion's Den." They recently visited the Unionist Headquarters to talk on "Nuclear Disarmament."

## On the side of man

AN informative profile on Alex Comfort in the current issue of "The Humanist" ends very fittingly with Alex Comfort's answer, given in a BBC broadcast to those who say that by opposing military defence they have opted for neutrality in the cold war, thus failing to take a stand against the inhumanity of totalitarianism:

"To those who denounce my view as neutrality I would reply that so strongly do I oppose not only atrocities of all kinds but the pestilence itself from which I believe they spring, that a bald reassertion of what I have called 'humanity,' so far from being neutral, is a declaration of partisanship—of being, more specifically, on the side of man."

## PEACEMAKER'S HERITAGE

### To prevent enslavement

The only methods by which a people can protect itself against the tyranny of rulers possessing a modern police force are the non-violent methods of massive non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Such methods are the only ones which give the people a chance of taking advantage of its numerical superiority to the ruling caste and to discount its manifest inferiority in armaments.

For this reason it is enormously important that the principles of non-violence should be propagated rapidly and over the widest possible area. For it is only by means of well and widely organised movements of non-violence that the populations of the world can hope to avoid that enslavement of the State which in so many countries is already an accomplished fact and which the threat of war and the advance of technology are in process of accomplishing elsewhere.—Aldoux Huxley. "Ends and Means."



Kathryn Larson

## UP AND DOING PRISONERS FOR PEACE

"PRISONERS for Peace Day," this year is likely to prove yet another great demonstration of world-wide sympathy for the men who have gone to prison rather than accept conscription into their country's armed forces.

Last year individual prisoners in gaols and labour camps received up to 700 Christmas Greeting cards each. The arrival of the cards themselves being a reminder to the prison authorities and the governments that their refusal to give complete exemption to conscientious objectors was known throughout the world.

The names and addresses of men known to be in prison will be published in Peace News next week in an enlarged "Prisoners for Peace Day" and "Christmas Book Number."

In Oslo, Abbe Pierre will be speaking at a "Prisoners for Peace Day" rally organised by Norwegian War Resisters.

Abbe Pierre was recently instrumental with other prominent Frenchmen in securing the release of French COs who had been in prison for five years or more.

American conscientious objectors working on refugee and other aid projects in Europe will have their greetings conveyed to the prisoners by the German office of the Mennonite Central Committee's European Pax Services.

The "Honour Roll" which Peace News will reproduce has been circulated throughout the world by the War Resisters' International headquarters at Enfield, Middlesex, England.

To PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

★ I want to campaign for peace. Send me... dozen PEACE NEWS this/next/very week at 3s. a doz., post free, and on a monthly account.

★ Please send me the address of the nearest pacifist group.

★ Please send trial subscriptions to my friends (list attached) at 2s. 6d. for eight weeks, post free.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

## French pacifist editor faces trial

From Michael Randle

LOUIS LECOIN, editor of the French pacifist weekly *Liberte*, and Francis Dufour, a contributor, face charges of sedition and incitement to revolt in the armed forces.

The charges relate to an article by Dufour last February which called for the release of Alban Liechti, a young French conscript, who had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for refusing to fight in Algeria.

Liechti wrote to the French President in November, 1956, indicating that he could not participate in this "unjust war."

Dufour's article was short and extremely moderate in tone. While requesting the release of Liechti, it emphasised the need for complete conscientious objection to all war. Louis Lecoin has expressed surprise that such a harmless article should be made the pretext for prosecution.

They will appear in court next January and will be defended by M. Gerard Rosenthal.



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## The NATO Powers and the Rapacki Plan

**THE RAPACKI PLAN**, to which we drew attention last week, aims at establishing a neutralised zone in Europe. This zone would include Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany on the one hand and West Germany on the other.

The treatment that this plan has received has been a most sinister aspect of the Western attitude to the Cold War. No attempt has been made to discuss the plan while every opportunity has been taken to evade consideration of it.

At the outset Mr. Selwyn Lloyd said he was in favour of an examination of the Polish proposals. It is clear, however, that the Adenauer Government is opposed to the plan and that it has used the problem of the reunification of Germany as a means of obstructing a proper examination of its proposals. In this Dr. Adenauer has the support of Mr. Dulles, who is equally opposed to negotiations based on the Plan.

The issue for Dr. Adenauer is the future separation of Germany from Western military planning; for Mr. Dulles it is the threat to NATO that a successful negotiation of the plan would mean.

When NATO was first established it was regarded as a safeguard against the threat of war. We are now reaching the situation where a threat of war is regarded as a safeguard for the maintenance of NATO.

Just as the acceptance of the Rapacki Plan would bring to an end the active association of Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany in the Warsaw Pact alliance so it would bring to an end the association of West Germany and NATO. If the plan proved to be a success it would raise the question of whether we needed NATO and the Warsaw Pact at all.

It is very evident that some Western politicians would rather have continued tension between the East and West and NATO than no tension and no NATO.

★ ★

**ONE** of the great difficulties in securing an agreement on armaments between the East and West has been the persistent Russian objection to any form of controlling inspectorate.

This obstacle is present at the two conferences now taking place at Geneva. The Rapacki proposals provide very specifically for control measures to be applied to the territories that are neutralised: there will be a mixed system of control, both from the air and on the ground.

It is suggested that the control should be operated by representatives of the NATO and Warsaw Pact powers as well as by representatives of neutral countries.

★ ★

**WE** should make it clear that we regard a serious consideration of the Rapacki proposals as desirable only because of the reluctance of statesmen to face the realities of the age of nuclear weapons.

A neutralised zone in Europe could help to create the confidence necessary for the conclusion of a real peace.

A neutralised Europe would not, however, change the essential fact of to-day: any kind of war threatens the general destruction of the people of the industrially developed areas of the world.

The original Rapacki proposals do not explicitly include a guarantee against aggression in the neutralised area. Instead, it is proposed that the four great powers shall pledge themselves not to use atomic arms against countries in the neutralised zone.

There is little doubt that negotiations would lead to proposals for guarantees. Certainly, West Germany will not accept the plan without them.

Such guarantees would have the same character as the H-bomb deterrent. The moment it was decided to use them they would have failed in their purpose.

## Berlin

**B**ERLIN is the powder keg in the heart of Europe. It epitomises the division of Germany and constitutes the most dangerous factor in the explosive situation caused by the artificial line which divides the spheres of influence of the world's two great armed camps.

Last week Mr. Khrushchov announced that it would be "correct" for Russia to hand over its part of the control of Berlin to the East German Government, and called on the Western Powers to follow suit. This is the latest reminder of the high price in fear that the world has to pay for the failure of the Great Powers to solve the German problem. But it is also an attempt to manoeuvre the Western Powers into recognition of the East German Republic, and could leave the West to choose between recognition and risking having their communications barred. Threats, bluff and assertions of moral righteousness are the stock-in-trade of the conduct of Power politics. There may not be another blockade of West Berlin, but Pravda's statement on Tuesday that Russia is determined to change the status of Berlin indicates that much more will be heard of this problem.

To it there can be no solution outside a wider settlement of the German problem, and this is becoming increasingly difficult. Both Power blocs have pretended to seek the reunification of Germany whilst making conditions which they know to be unacceptable. This has created a great rigidity of policies which, together with the effect of years of propaganda on both sides, has entrenched the problem. Moreover, the rapidly increasing economic strength and prosperity of Western Germany, with the prospect of Federal Germany becoming the leading NATO military Power in Europe, will make the Adenauer Government likely opponents to any solution. An immediate and honest study of proposals for the removal of tension in central Europe is called for; the leading article on this page considers the Rapacki Plan.

## Coup in Sudan

**S**O far it is impossible to assess either the full meaning of the military coup in the Sudan or its probable effects on Sudanese-Egyptian relations and general developments in the Middle East.

Joy at a supposed setback for President Nasser is as premature as lamentation at an equally problematical increase in his power.

But there is one lesson this latest of a series of military coups in countries new to independence should at long last force into the forefront of Western eyes: we are wrong in taking it for granted that democracy as we understand it is bound to be looked upon with our veneration by semi-starved peoples in under-developed countries.

Neither Parliamentaryism nor respect for political parties are the certain result of national independence; and no good purpose is served by losing patience with countries which, after long straining for the removal of European domination, are slower in abolishing domination than in rejoicing at the ending of European overlordship.

## War worth fighting?

**WE** sympathise with the position of people, who, like Mr. A. J. P. Taylor in last week's New Statesman, say that if no other war was worth fighting, the Second World War was. The atrocities of the Nazi regime were horrible enough to make anybody search his conscience very deeply about the most effective way of stopping them.

What we do object to in the attitude of Mr. Taylor and the people who think like him is their certainty that war was the most effective way of solving our problems and their failure to see that our present situation is in many ways a direct outcome of the Second World War.

We should have thought that, just as the scale of murder and torture in Germany made many pacifists re-examine their beliefs, the atrocities that were committed during the war (the obliteration bombing of Germany and Japan, the unconditional surrender demands, and the dropping of the A-bomb to name only a few) and the situation we find ourselves in at the present time should have made the supporters of the war re-examine their positions.

It is important that such a re-examination should take place since the nightmare logic that has landed us in our present terrifying position is now clear. The First World War led to the unjust Treaty of Versailles which played such a big part in creating the conditions necessary for the rise of Fascism and Hitler. Fascism and Hitler led to the Second World War. The result of the Second World War was the "cold war" and the development of the A-bomb and the H-bomb.

Pacifists have always wanted to break this chain. We have now reached the position when a great many non-pacifists also see the necessity for this break through.

We raise the question of the Second World War not because we want to rake over old ashes but because we think it will help us all in our efforts to break this chain. The supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear

Disarmament now find that they are facing many of the arguments that they themselves used in relation to the Second World War; it is no accident that "appeasement" is one of the charges most often levelled against the Campaign.

We are not suggesting that the Campaign and its supporters should suddenly become pacifist (though we should certainly welcome such a development). What we are suggesting is that refusal to face the fact of war squarely and a complacent certainty that the Second World War was the only way confirms a great many people in their belief that a war against Russia, even if it is fought with H-bombs, is the only way.

This well illustrates the tangle that socialists and the Left generally have got themselves into over their attitude to war. As Sidney Lens has pointed out in his "Questions to the Left," the Left has never been able to give a consistent answer to the problem. Beginning as an uncompromising anti-war movement, it had become by 1939 very much a pro-war movement. Now, faced by the threat of nuclear weapons, it is attempting to re-establish itself as anti-war.

These twisting and turnings have not improved the position of the Left and have weakened the impact it has had upon people. We have to face the fact that the general attitude to war is the same as it was in 1914. That is, most people are reluctant to fight, but under the pressure of certain situations can be coerced into armies. If we are to change this attitude we must have, at least, a consistent attitude to the problem ourselves.

## The Church militant

**I**T has sometimes been necessary to remind Tribunals for conscientious objectors that the Royal Army Medical Corps is not, strictly speaking, a non-combatant unit, since its personnel can be issued with arms and on occasions have been expected to use them.

Apparently the same applies to the Chaplains Department of the Army, but it was a shock to many to learn that the Reverend Doranwy Jones, an Army Chaplain in Cyprus, had been sentenced by a court-martial to be severely reprimanded for losing his revolver and ammunition, and ordered to have his pay stopped until the cost had been reimbursed.

In most newspapers he is meticulously referred to as "Captain the Reverend," perhaps to show how he came to be amenable to an army court-martial, but if clergymen do feel it necessary to serve as chaplains, they might at least be content with the prefix which denotes their spiritual authority, without the addition of their commissioned rank. Nor, surely, should they ever be expected to be turned into combatants by carrying revolvers. Even the National Service Acts exempt clergy from call-up for combatant service.

It would have been more to the padre's credit if he had deliberately refused to carry a revolver as inconsistent with his vocation and ministry. It would also redound to the credit of the Church of England if it refused to assert that it is right for Christians to be armed to kill their fellow Christians in a war of defence, and if it would run the risk of being "severely reprimanded" by the State for advocating that all Christians should deliberately throw away their arms and refuse to sanction or take part in any war.

## Shameful vote

**T**HE political committee of the United Nations Assembly has passed by the overwhelming majority of 68 to 5 a resolution expressing regret at South Africa's policy of apartheid, declaring it a denial of the human rights that the UN Charter seeks to uphold.

We have to regret that once more the vote of the British delegate was cast against a resolution of this nature. Mr. Beeley, who was the unfortunate instrument for this degrading piece of work, claimed that it was necessary for Britain to vote thus in order to uphold Article II, paragraph vii, of the UN Charter which precludes the UN from "intervening" in the domestic affairs of States. There was a certain shamefacedness about this on the part of the British Government for Mr. Beeley ventured to explain that his vote was not to be construed as implying an opinion on the internal policies of South Africa.

What the vote really signifies is that the British Government does not feel that it can afford for military reasons to alienate the police state Government of South Africa. It is good that on this issue the Government of the US felt that it could vote for what its people held to be right rather than have a slavish regard for the desires of its allies (Australia, Belgium, France and Portugal were the other minority votes).

We may perhaps hope that the British Government may take courage from this and use the next opportunity of voting in accordance with British public opinion with regard to the admission to UN of the Chinese Government.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

# A NEW INITIATIVE IN GERMANY

'WE ARE DETERMINED TO RESIST NON-VIOLENTLY'

From Hilda von Klenze

A MOST unexpected development in German politics came in August, 1957, when two large sections of the Refugee Party, Berlin and Saarland, left the party because they were no longer prepared to acquiesce in the policies of the Federal Government.

They were encouraged to take this bold step by the fact that a few weeks previously leading personalities in the Refugee Party had founded a new organisation under the title of "Work Association for German Politics," whose main task was to be the concentration and co-ordination of the work of political groups with related, though not necessarily identical, views.

The two sections which had left the main body of the Refugee Party combined under the name of "All-German Union" and immediately joined the Work Association as a kind of peaceful commando and rallying point for progressive individuals within any of the other constituent groups.

## The only answer to perils

At their first meeting on the federal level at Goettingen on June 29 of this year, the All-German Union worked out a general declaration of policy on the basis of three guiding principles. According to this remarkable document the Union stands for non-violence, a new social order, and the reunification of Germany. About a month later the Executive of the Union met again in Berlin to draft a programme on the basis of the Goettingen declaration.

The programme affirms that non-violence is the only answer to the perils of the nuclear age, and recognises that every human being embodies truth, dignity and personal value. The place of nuclear as well as conventional

weapons should be taken by various forms of individual and corporate resistance, ranging from civil disobedience to general strike.

In the social field, the Union states that it is carefully watching the increasing flight of West German industry into the production of armaments.

## Common ownership

"We believe that there is no solution to the problem of the working man so long as he co-operates in this, since by doing so he only works for total destruction and undermines his own existence. We wish to achieve as soon as possible the common ownership of basic industries, at present once more diverted to armaments, whereas their primary function should be to contribute to the good of the community."

Out of the existing system the Union seeks to develop a social and economic order which, while allowing the fullest possible freedom to the individual, will also apply the necessary limitations for the sake of society as a whole.

The Union is convinced that the reunifica-

tion of Germany is a way out of the nuclear deadlock and could serve as an example to a divided world.

Founded at a time when opposition to the equipment of the West German Army with nuclear weapons was at its height, the All-German Union declares that it "sees the weakness of the opposition to nuclear arms in the fact that resisting these weapons is not enough."

"So long as the opposition refuses to take part in the mad atomic race but does not concern itself with conventional weapons it remains unreliable. If weapons are approved in principle, the electorate will vote for those who, in pursuing power politics based on armaments, logically demand for their army the most effective means of destruction, particularly if such a policy appears to be based on religious arguments."

"We are determined to resist non-violently but actively all preparations for the nuclear crime and every form of German rearmament, including conventional weapons."

"As a result of the first World War Germany was deprived of colonies by the victorious allies and thereby escaped the slur of colonialism. As a result of the second World War we now demand to be demilitarised."

In so far as the Union has to take sides in the struggle for the solution of the many problems of German politics, it does re-

gard itself as a political party, although it claims that its structure is not that of a party. It is trying to go its own way and further its own ends without being concerned with the mistaken policies of others.

The Union does not know any "enemies" because it intends to absorb whatever there is of truth in other political organisations.

No decision has yet been taken as to whether the Union will at some later date try to get its representatives into Parliament. For the time being the organisation does not attempt to reach the voters directly, but rather to influence responsible leaders in every field of public life.

## Further development

It is significant that at a moment in history when the potential power of mutual destruction has produced a state of political deadlock, a movement should arise which, although political in outlook, takes non-violence as one of its guiding principles, and that moreover it should recruit its forces from a group which is known to be reactionary and which has perhaps more reason than most to feel vengeful.

It will be interesting to watch the further development of the All-German Union and the influence, if any, it may be able to exercise on German politics.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### The Historical Blackout

I AM not an avid consumer of government propaganda; nor do I put great faith in government statements issued in time of war. Nevertheless I must confess to some slight prejudice against Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. I find it difficult therefore to accept the two and a quarter pages (P.N. Nov. 14) occupied by Dr. H. E. Barnes whose thesis apparently is that Hitler and Mussolini were two injured innocents in international politics and who concludes with the statement that "the British were almost solely responsible for the outbreak of both the German-Polish and the European Wars in early September, 1939."

Dr. Barnes purports to be an historian; but for one whose avowed task is the revelation of hitherto concealed facts he is strangely indifferent to the distinction between fact and comment. He writes, for example: "Hitler's demands on Poland were the most reasonable ones he made on any foreign country during his whole regime." No attempt is made to set out the facts upon which this judgment is based.

Elsewhere in his article Dr. Barnes writes: "The hatred built up against Hitler in the democracies by 1939 already exceeded that massed against any other figure in modern history." The implication is that this hatred had no proper foundation. Pacifists will not approve of personal hatred; but if Dr. Barnes wants to justify Hitler's policies he must produce the facts to make out his case.

Of Mussolini, Dr. Barnes writes: "British propaganda against Il Duce during the

Ethiopian foray had put an end to most American admiration of him." Here again the implication appears to be that the condemnation was unjustified. Was it?—B. W. CAMPBELL, 16, Charmouth Road, St. Albans, Herts.

We hope to comment on this letter next week.

### 'Medals for violence'

IN your issue of November 14, Miss Sybil Morrison comments on a report of part of a sermon which I preached on the subject of peace on Remembrance Sunday. This report was made by a reporter who was not present at the service, and illustrates the danger of tearing any words from their context.

Nothing could be further from the truth than to suggest that I was defending war. The fact that the conditions of adversity in war often bring to the surface courage and self-sacrifice must be evident to all, and such courage is by no means confined to those in the armed services. Similar heroism will be found in the rescuers after a disaster in a coal mine, but nobody would suggest that we should neglect safety precautions in order that such courage should be revealed.

I believe that many of the Teddy boys to whom I referred have qualities which have taken a disastrously wrong turn, but which might be harnessed for the good of mankind if the community as a whole could regain a worthwhile vision. The Teddy Boy evil springs from a society which has preferred materialism to sacrifice, comfort to service, and self-interest to the love of our neighbour.

I do not believe that you would wish to further the cause which you have at heart by misrepresentation, and I therefore hope that you will give the same prominence to this letter as you gave to the article of Sybil Morrison. — (Rev.) J. H. A. CHARLES All Hallows Vicarage, Twickenham.

### St. Helena

READERS of Fenner Brockway's article in last week's issue may be interested to know that when I reported all the facts about life on St. Helena in my book "Isle of St. Helena" (Sidgwick & Jackson, 18s.), which appeared in April, 1957, copies were banned from the public library on the island.

Although the book had a remarkably sympathetic Press in England, there was a conspiracy on the island to pretend that it had never appeared, and "The Wirebird" (official local periodical) carefully barred any mention of my work. Yet I imagined I had been particularly fair to the official case, and had praised the work accomplished with the new schools and hospitals.

There is, however, a strong official religious element on the island which, rather than consider the mercies of birth control, is prepared to sanction the appalling poverty.—OSWELL BLAKESTON, London, N.W.3.

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# TITO'S MARXIST HERITIC

**MOST** of the heroes of history have had enthusiastic communities behind them, giving them moral support when they fail, looking after their posthumous glory when they succeed. Milovan Djilas is one of the exceptions.

As a former Vice-President of Yugoslavia, he is too deeply implicated in Communism and probably too proud to qualify for the laurels that the West bestows on those who defy the Marxists in their citadels.

He cannot be represented as crusading for anything much except free speech and that is too vague a cause to be glamorous. Yet he thought it worth going to prison for, and this book with its unemotional account of his boyhood in Montenegro does much to explain his decision.

It is a sober account of a small society intoxicated alternately by religious, racial and political passions, and rarely can these violent disorders have been chronicled with so little bias by one so intimately involved. Montenegro, to which the poet prince Nejegosh gave the name Land Without Justice, was famous for its crusading heroes, their epic deeds and independent personalities.

There can have been few countries where the distinction between peasant and aristocrat was so slight. It was a democracy achieved by levelling up rather than by levelling down, and the humblest was able to behave with the eccentric freedom of an eighteenth century English nobleman. It was a moderately united land while the Turks were still there to focus upon themselves the concentrated ferocity of the Christians, but in Djilas' boyhood the Cross finally triumphed over the Crescent.

Alas, it was a political and not a moral victory. Barbarous cruelties were practised on the defeated Moslems. Those who restrained themselves from murder looted. Djilas saw one of his uncles forcing a Moslem child to squeeze through the narrow window of a mosque and bring him the carpet, another uncle specialised in Moslem chickens, Djilas' mother acquired a load of wheat. By the time he grew up there were few savage disillusionments for which this young Montenegrin was unprepared.

Very soon the Montenegrins were at war with themselves, for some wished for incorporation in Yugoslavia, others wanted their independence and their king. Young Djilas observed with loving but candid eyes how his family and friends were swayed first by one loyalty, then by another, and finally came to be guided by self-interest alone.

His father was a slightly modernised descendant of a long line of peasant warriors who had won deathless glory in fighting against Turks and Austrians. He had scruples and hesitations unknown to his ancestors, and sometimes felt embarrassment when engaged on a crusade. Once when vengeance was being taken on the villagers of Rovchi, who were reluctant to be incorporated in Yugoslavia:

"There were many routine things to be done, the women had to have cats sewn up

in their skirts and the cats had to be whipped, old men had to carry young soldiers pick-a-back across the river and much else."

The elder Djilas, as he stood beside the cannon that was demolishing the village, began to falter.

What had these villagers done to deserve this? Had he not once like them been a supporter of the king; was he not really in his heart a supporter still? Suddenly reassurance came to him. He remembered that some men who had stolen his bull, Spot, had probably come from Rovchi. Now he felt comforted.

After every volley of the cannon he bawled out: "Ha! My bull, Spot! Ha!" Montenegrin justice was vindicated.

It is difficult to praise as it deserves this book, which is a picture of a primitive society in violent collision with the sophistication of the West. The new ideas that fly like sparks from an anvil under the furious impact of the modern world do not always seem to us very new at all. Sometimes chapters end with weighty reflections that are in themselves as trite as cracker-mottos.

## Hubert Butler reviews

*Land Without Justice*, by Milovan Djilas. Methuen, 25s.

Yet recently quarried from experience they seem to have a vigour and dynamism lacking in our most venerated truisms. The book has been translated by an anonymous American professor; I like his version, though the narrative remains rather rugged and uncouth and patently translated. He does not waste time searching for smooth English equivalents. The English *mot juste* is often a dreary veteran, while these Montenegrin kinsmen of our platitudes are still fresh and lively.

The injustices and squalors of which Djilas writes often do not seem to belong to any time or nation. *Homo homini lupus* is his theme. He narrates how in the first world war a young Czech doctor joyously came over to their side, confident of a welcome from his brother Slavs, and how one of these brother Slavs, a neighbour of Djilas, blew his brains out to get his watch.

He remembers the small shabby incidents that chroniclers of epic deeds usually forget. "The Montenegrins," he recalls, "pitied the Serbs rather than helped them" during the great Serbian retreat to the sea. He cannot forget the tiny piece of bacon that his mother gave to the starving Serbian

soldier and the big slabs that were stored away for the family in the attic.

His nostalgia is not for the past but for that imagined world which we create when we are young, in which the injustices of the actual world are redressed. For as we grow older even that visionary world ceases to be credible.

"Old Montenegro," write Djilas, "faded away with its men and customs, while the new order failed to bring peace and liberty even to those who hoped for these and fought for them."

The book is full of gloomy prognostications and yet is fundamentally cheerful. Djilas has, I think, the sort of mind which in a more prosperous community might have been strongly introverted and might have harvested misery out of disillusionment and intellectual frustration. But it would be hard to be an introvert in Montenegro, where thinking has little status except as a dim prelude to violent action.

Djilas chronicles the poverty and disorder of his native land with a tenderness of feeling that sometimes seems to run counter to his indignation. It is clear that he loves Montenegro almost as much as he loves truth and that he has never been affected by that weariness of living on which genuine pessimism must be founded.

## POWER POLITICS BEFORE WELFARE IN COMMON MARKET PLAN

**THE** European Common Market was established by the treaty at Rome on March 25, 1957, and comes into operation at New Year, 1959. The participants are: Western Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg.

It is in some respects an expansion of the Coal and Steel Community—the out come of the Schumann Plan of May, 1950—inaugurated by the same States on August, 1952, and of the Benelux agreement in force for several years among the latter three.

The Common Market is primarily a Customs Union, working for the reduction by gradual stages, and the ultimate elimination, of tariffs between the parties, and the equalisation of tariffs (involving in some cases an increase) against all others.

There are special provisions for the safeguarding of agriculture, for the treatment of overseas dependencies, and for harmonising social legislation.

There have been proposals for British adhesion to the extent of what is called (misleadingly) a "European Free Trade Area," including also Austria, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. In an attempt to combine this with the retention of imperial preference, the arrangement would be confined to a mutual renunciation of tariffs on industrial products. This plan has been frustrated by the opposition of France, which has been intensified since De Gaulle's accession to power.

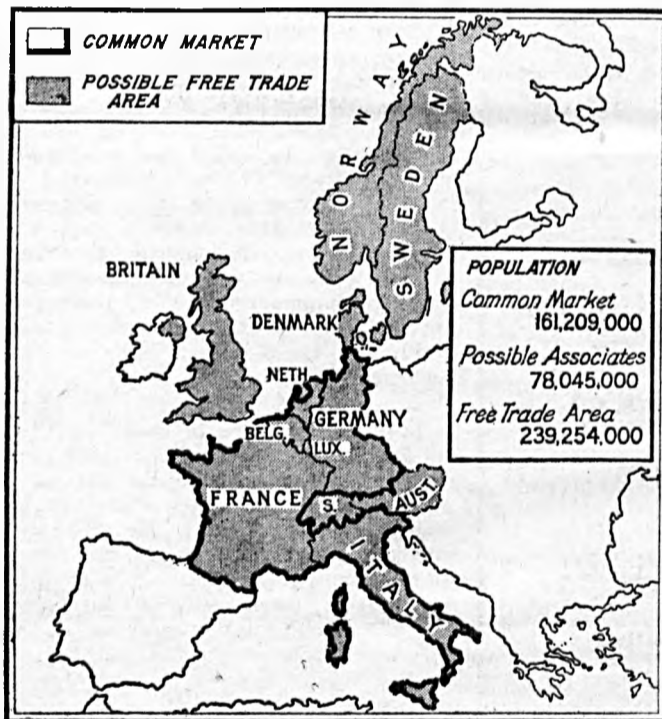
### Germany—chief benefactor

**TWO** points are clear about the Common Market scheme. It is not "free trade" in the old *laissez faire* sense, which implied the absence of Government intervention. It is an elaborate product negotiated among Governments. Secondly, it is a limited and exclusive scheme, though nominally offering opportunities for subsequent accessions.

It is typical of the trend towards partial economic blocs, some wider, such as OEEC and the Sterling Area, some narrower, even bilateral.

It would be a naïve assumption that such a sectional agreement, however successful in eliminating conflict among the parties concerned, is necessarily good in itself (Cf Central African Federation) or a contribution to international peace.

A more controversial criticism is that argued by Strauss in his "Common sense about the Common Market." Citing the example of the Zollverein of the early nineteenth century, which paved the way for



Countries of the European Common Market:

West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg; also the European Free Trade Area

Photo: Courtesy The Economist

the establishment under Prussian ascendancy of the Second Empire in 1871, he regards the project of a European Common Market as a recurrent feature of German expansionist policy illustrated by the Naumann "Mittel Europe" plan of the First World War, and possibly some features of the Nazi "New Order."

Whether or not this is regarded as the deliberate aim, it is difficult to resist his conclusion that "it is bound to result in a very substantial accession of strength to Western Germany." In view of the extraordinary post-war recovery of the latter's economy, aided, as in the 1920's by the US, that country has, in comparison with the other members of the Union, an "incontestable industrial supremacy."

Strauss further points out that in Western Germany capital goods industries predominate, and that these are particularly susceptible to cyclical changes; hence any recession might have disastrous repercussions for Western Europe.

In general, the Market involves the establishment of more "effective trade barriers between the 'community' and the rest of the world, and may thus be 'an obstacle

to the creation of a more stable international order."

### General interests not advanced

**THE** moral appears to be that once again we have the sacrifice of economic welfare to power politics. The classical apologists for Free Trade enunciated an essential truth when they said that international trade was mutually beneficial. The revival of mercantilism is based on the conception that the economic interests of nations are conflicting, as when expressed in terms of vested interests, capital and labour alike, they certainly are. To extend the boundary of self-interest from one community to six does not advance a general harmony of interests.

Pacifists have latterly been inclined unduly to ignore the influence of economic factors in producing warlike situations, and the extent to which the economies of the leading states have become geared to war preparations. The Common Market offers a special illustration of how the commendable object of encouraging closer commercial relationships may be perverted by subordination to political aims.

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## DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon., a.m.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, November 21

**BATTERSEA:** 7 p.m. Central Library. Mtg. for teachers and parents. Frank Beswick, MP. Dr. Cyril Bibby. CND.

**CROYDON:** 2.30 p.m. Adult School Hall, Park Lane. WILPF Annual Sale. 3 p.m. Illustrated talk. Mrs. Maurice Hussey "In Russia, Siberia and China."

**LONDON, E.4:** 8 p.m. Memorial Hall, Winchester Rd., Highams Park. Brains Trust. H. Midgley (Cons.), N. Cork (Lib.). Labour Speaker: R. Waters (CND). Chair: A. R. Pittman. CND.

Saturday, November 22

**ALTON:** 7.30 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Michael Randle on London Pacifist Youth Action Group. Young Peacekeepers.

Sunday, November 23

**LONDON, S.W.:** 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Peace Mtg. addressed by Ex-servicemen. The Brotherhood of the Way.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Dr. A. D. Belden "The Inevitability of Pacifism."

Monday, November 24

**RAINHAM:** 7.30 p.m. Co-op Hall. Debate. Julian Critchley v. Col. Geoffrey Taylor. CND.

**SHIPLEY:** 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. PPU.

Monday to Saturday, November 24 to 29  
**NORTHAMPTON:** 10 a.m.—9 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Wellington St. "No Place to Hide" exhibition. Northants CND.

Tuesday, November 25

**LONDON, S.E.7:** 8 p.m. Cong. Hall, Bramshot Ave. Mrs. Margaret Curwen, Dr. Rachel Hunter, Jill Balcon. Women only. CND.

**LONDON, S.W.19:** 7.45 p.m. Compton Hall (next to Wimbledon GPO) Brains Trust. "How Would You Stop War?" Local clergy. Chair: Stuart Morris. PPU.

**MAIDENHEAD:** 7.45 p.m. Town Hall. Michael Howard, Antoinette Pirie. CND.

Wednesday, November 26

**LONDON, N.W.1:** 6.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "Peace Forum." Questions and discussion with Panel from Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Wednesday to Saturday, November 26 to 29  
**BUSHEY:** 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Co-operative Hall, High St. "The Choice of Your Life" Exhibition. Nuclear Power—Its Uses and Misuses. Free. CND.

Thursday, November 27

**BURNT OAK:** 8 p.m. Wesley Central Hall. Dr. D. G. Arnott, Harry Knight. CND.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mr. Spicer "A Policy for Pacifists." PPU.

**LONDON, N.W.3:** 8 p.m. 20 Belsize Park Gdns. Dorothy Matthews "What Does Being a Pacifist Involve?" PPU.

**LONDON, N.W.6:** 8 p.m. 37a Broadhurst Gdns. Reginald Sorensen, MP "Yemen and the Middle East."

**SLOUGH:** 7.30 p.m. Co-op. Restaurant. Rev. Sidney Hinkes, Dr. M. Kaufman, Benn Levy. CND.

Friday, November 28

**BRISTOL:** 7 p.m. 24 Woodbridge Rd., Knowle 4. Working Party—Prisoners for Peace cards and preparation for 1959 National AGM. PPU.

**CHELTHAM:** 8 p.m. St. Mary's Hall. Debate. Major W. W. Hicks Beach v. Rev. J. McCulloch. CND.

**DAGENHAM:** 7.45 p.m. Kingsley Hall, off Parsloes Ave. Inaugural meeting of proposed new PPU Group. Myrtle Solomon. Area Organiser.

**LONDON, N.14:** 8 p.m. Little Chapel, The Bourne Methodist Ch., Southgate. Advent Service for Taking or Renewing of the Covenant. Leader Rev. Giacomo A. Lardi, B.A. (Enfield). MPF.

**LONDON, W.8:** 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall. High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA:** 8 p.m. Liberal Hall, Clarence Rd. April Carter, Diana Collins, Dr. Rachel Hunter. CND.

Saturday, November 29

**BRIGHTON:** 3.30 p.m. Friends Centre, Ship St. S.E. Area Mtg. Speaker: Minnie Pallister. Bring and Buy Stall. Pooled tea. PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** Saturday's weekly poster parade (See "Every Week" below) will be for "Prisoners for Peace Day."

**SHEFFIELD:** 3 p.m. Victoria Hall. Christmas Fair. PPU.

Monday, December 1

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Addressing Christmas Cards to Prisoners for Peace. Kings Heath & Cotteridge PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., will be open till 9.30 p.m. for sale of Christmas cards. Lists of "Prisoners for Peace" will be available.

## Every week!

SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open air Mtg. The Brotherhood of the Way.

**LONDON:** 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum. PYAG.

**BRADFORD:** 8.15 p.m. Broadway Car Park. Open air meeting. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

SATURDAYS

**LONDON, W.C.1:** Assemble 3 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St. Poster Parade to Manette St., for meeting at 4.15 p.m. PPU & PYAG.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON:** Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

**LONDON, N.4:** 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

# Cyprus: Act now to save

## endless bloodshed

Says FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

THERE are two territories whose problems demand immediate decision and action.

The first is Cyprus. This problem has been with us for four years. During nearly all that period the position has deteriorated and it has now reached rock bottom. EOKA is shooting not only British soldiers but British civilians and all British civilian men are being offered arms.

Greek Cypriots are being dismissed from public employment and workers of both sexes in England recruited to fill their places. This means violence and counter-violence without end, unless a political solution is reached.

The obstacle to reaching a political solution is that violence has inflamed feeling to a point where rational thinking is impossible. The EOKA attacks on civilians have antagonised British public opinion so that it is now almost impossible to obtain a cool consideration of the situation. Mr. Harold Macmillan, the Prime Minister, rides away on platitudes that the Government's aim is both negotiation and repression of terror.

Negotiation with whom? Negotiation should be with representatives of the Cypriot people, both Greek and Turkish. Instead, the Turkish and Greek Governments and NATO have been drawn in. This error in approach has been all the more disastrous because a solution through negotiations with the people of Cyprus itself is not impossible.

### Macmillan plan

The Greek Cypriots have made a big concession in putting aside their aim of union with Greece. If the British Government would clearly declare that it will give up any idea of the partition of the island, an agreement for independence within the Commonwealth should meet all Turkish fears of her security.

Immediately, the Macmillan Plan should be fundamentally amended by including the provision for a democratically elected legislature incorporating Turkish rights and representation. The Government has indicated that it would be prepared to consider this proposal at a later date. Why not now, in combination if necessary with the maintenance of a Turkish Council to control

matters related to religion and education. This is the basis for agreement and it will be unforgivable if we permit the passions of violence to deter us from a sustained effort to realise it.

### Wellensky: no moderate

The second critical territory is Central Africa. Elections have just been held which have given Sir Roy Welensky a sweeping victory and this has been interpreted as a triumph for moderate European opinion. We shall make a great mistake, however, if we regard Sir Roy Welensky as a moderate in any sense permitting agreement with the African population or with progressive opinion in Britain.

He wants independence for Central Africa in 1960 whilst control remains entirely in European hands and whilst the vast African population is left at their mercy. Because Mr. James Callaghan, Labour's Shadow Colonial Secretary, has declared that the Labour Party will not grant independence until a democratic system comprising the whole population of Central Africa is established, Sir Roy Welensky has uttered an attack on him which any extremist would find it difficult to outdo.

How utterly remote the electoral system in Central Africa is from democracy is revealed in the figures of the registered electors. In Southern Rhodesia it was estimated that there would be 30,000 on the Special Roll which was intended to be predominantly African. In fact there were 628. In Northern Rhodesia, there were estimated to be 21,000. There were in fact 53. In Nyasaland there were estimated to be 7,000. There were in fact 11.

That is to say, 692 Africans in a population of six million were entitled to vote!

This farcical figure resulted from two causes. In the first place, the educational and income qualifications were placed so high that Africans could not get on the register.

In the second place, the African Congress organised a boycott of registration for the election. Whichever was the greater factor, the result shows how distant Central Africa now is from anything approaching democracy based on racial equality and co-operation.

# German Socialists change their mind

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT CAMPAIGN BEGINS NEW PHASE

By Dr. Lore Frobenius

ON October 21 we received the rather depressing news that the International Anti-nuclear Congress which was to have been held in Frankfurt on November 15 and 16 has been cancelled. We were told that this was due to the fact that Earl Russell was ill and not able to travel.

Even though I have no doubts that Bertrand Russell is not well, I wonder if many people were not rather glad that the Congress will not now take place. Particularly that part of the German Socialist Party which has the same attitude as the British Labour Party.

### Socialist vote

Some days ago we were all rather shocked when official members of the Socialist Party voted for closer connections with the German Army. This is a change from the position of the SPD over the last 13 years during which period it has been opposed to conscription.

Logically, the well-known German weekly Spiegel points out that if the SPD has taken this attitude

it will have to change its other attitudes about (1) the campaign against nuclear armaments, (2) the campaign for disengagement in Europe, (3) the stand that has been taken about conscientious objection.

The thing that troubles most people here is the sudden change of mind of the SPD. Young people are very disappointed because they had great hopes of the party.

I think that it is an illusion that socialists can change the attitudes of the Army by joining it. (That is what the socialists hope), and I am afraid that this change will result in many losses at the next election for the "Landtag" (Parliament of the Hesse and Bavaria areas) on November 23. The same seems likely to happen to the British Labour Party at their next election. An unstable attitude never pays.

Do not think we are discouraged. As far as I can see the second phase of our campaign begins now. In the first phase

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### MEETINGS

"WAR—NEVER AGAIN": The Brotherhood of the Way: Peace Meeting addressed by Ex-servicemen on Sunday, November 23, at Clapham Common, 3 p.m.

### HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James, Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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### ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1340. Telka Shaylor, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

OLD JORDANS HOSTEL (Quaker Conference Centre) has a few dates still free for conferences, house-parties or retreats. Maximum No. 28. Write the Warden, Old Jordans Hostel, near Beaconsfield, Bucks.

### PERSONAL

EUROPEAN FRIENDSHIP FAIR: Films, photos, sale unusual gifts. Daily 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Nov. 27—Dec. 3. 18 Manor Mansions, Belsize Grove, N.W.3.

GOING ABROAD? Maintain, advocate and urge liberty of freedom to travel without vaccination, invoke Clause 83 International Sanitary Regulations. Enquire, and/or send donation, National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase: L 3 3 6 9 4 3. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

VEGETARIAN PACIFIST: bachelor. American, age 29, both merry and quiet-natured; with music, reading, travel, photography, among quite varied interests. Seeks to contact by correspondence or in person, in America or abroad: lady age 18 to 30, vegetarian or sympathetic, with view to marriage. Please answer in first instance with photo to Box 799. All letters replied to in confidence.

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### LITERATURE

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly, 36s. a year, 20s. 6 months. (US \$5 seamount, \$10 airmail, a year) from Housemans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

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PEACE DIARY for 1959 now available, with 32 page World Directory of Peace Organisations and Periodicals, 3s. 6d. (postage 4d.) from Endsleigh Cards (Peace News Ltd.), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (Full Christmas List available).

### SITUATIONS WANTED

MALE CLERK, 27, seeks permanent full-time employment at modest salary for any worthy cause. Anything considered. Dodson, 219 Collier Row Lane, Romford.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 3 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers). Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

WARDEN REQUIRED to be responsible and give part time oversight to 4 aged persons, or couples, living in separate flats. Free modernised four-roomed cottage, with garden; small remuneration; would suit couple with/without children, were man working: Cranbrook, Kent. Box 803.

our enemies tried to convince us with arguments. Now in the second phase their tactics are different. They do not fight in the open—they try to prevent meetings taking place, to prevent people from entering the country. The newspapers ignore the campaign, hinting now and then "only Communists do not approve of atomic weapons" or "only crackpots fight against natural developments."

### Grandiose beginnings

I am sure that it is the same in your country. The difference: Your campaign began on a small scale and is growing, while the Germans are so dazzled by the so-called German "economic miracle" that they can only think in terms of large-scale organisations—they start with big offices and portentous statements and then the organisation starts to find its natural size.

Do not misinterpret my words. There are many people who think like me, artists, clergymen, scientists and especially young people. But we still have to convince the majority.



1,69 Nov. 21, 1958 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## Outer space

● FROM PAGE ONE

manoeuvring is going on now at the United Nations.

Mr. Alistair Cooke, the American commentator, has frankly described what is happening. He acknowledges that in the Western view the usefulness of the American resolution is greatly enhanced by the extra year which it will allow the United States to carry on its research and experiments. Then he tells how relieved the Western delegations are by a tactical mistake which the Russians have made.

The Russians are often more logical than tactful. They argue that if the Powers are not to have bases scattered over space they should not have bases scattered over the earth. So they have added to their resolution a rider that America must abandon her overseas bases in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. The West chuckled when they read this rider.

### Powers of neutral nations

It would have been embarrassing, says Mr. Alistair Cooke, to reject Russia's main proposal declaring outer space out of bounds for military bases, but this "impossible corollary" provides the opportunity. No doubt he assumes that the common-sense of the majority of the delegates will lead them to reject the whole of the resolution because of the controversial rider.

No doubt, but the balance of power in the United Nations rests with the neutral bloc of Asian and African nations. They have the great opportunity to take an intermediate position between the Western and Soviet blocs. Let them insist upon setting up a United Nations agency to exclude outer space immediately from the power conflicts of the earth.

### Dr. JACK TO SPEAK IN LONDON

Dr. Homer A. Jack, of Chicago, is to speak to a meeting of M.P.s and others in the House of Commons on Monday evening, December 1, at 6 o'clock under the title "From Chicago to Notting Hill." Any reader with a particular interest in race relations work will be sent an invitation to the meeting if they send their names and addresses to the editor.



SYBIL MORRISON

IT IS, perhaps, very gratifying to feel above reproach, to know a sort of Caesar's wife's immunity from the "common lot," to be so sure that a war, which should never have happened, and which has led directly to the Cold War with Britain's one-time Ally and the menace of the H-bomb, was, without question "right." But, it is also, perhaps, the kind of self-satisfaction better kept to oneself!

In fact, in September, 1939, there was almost no alternative but war for those who believe in it and prepare for it; but in 1929, if some commonsense, let alone wisdom, had been used there might never have been a Hitler, and certainly a second world war could have been avoided.

The present world situation is one that is, in itself, a denial of the assertion that some wars are right. Wars, in fact, beget

## A. J. MUSTE SUMS UP ON THE U.S. ELECTIONS

# America is tired of Ike's regime

IT is not possible to provide any thorough interpretation of the recent US elections in a brief article. The following reflections may furnish readers with some material for attempting their own interpretations.

The election proved a landslide in favour of Democratic candidates, and where Republicans were elected, as in the case of Nelson Rockefeller in New York, they were "liberals." The Neanderthal, isolationist Republicans, either withdrew before nominations were made or were, with very rare exceptions, soundly trounced.

Thus widespread and pretty deep dissatisfaction with the Eisenhower regime, though not with Eisenhower himself, was registered. There is some kick left in the American electorate. The dissatisfaction had to do almost entirely with domestic issues, springing from concern over unemployment, unrest among the farmers, a general uneasiness over lack of leadership and drive in the Administration.

The latter uneasiness springs in part from doubts about the Dulles China policy, for example, but in the main there was no genuine debate over foreign policy in this campaign.

My personal impression is that the American people generally are not greatly interested in foreign relations, and that even the more alert sections are probably not as deeply stirred about nuclear testing and other such issues as they were last spring.

It is, of course, likely that such concerns had something to do with the election of Senators and Representatives who follow the line of Senator Humphrey. But it remains to be seen whether they will have any noticeable effect on the US "cold war" line, since leading figures in the Democratic Party like Truman and Acheson basically support the line which they in fact initiated and which Dulles has pursued.

Whether the adherents of that line in the Democratic Party or the would-be revisionists will prevail is not yet clear. The thesis that discussion and division stop at the national border and we all stand as one over against "the enemy" is pretty firmly entrenched.

### Voting for personalities

As others have observed, quite a social or cultural revolution is reflected in the fact that two men who each inherited great wealth were candidates for Governor in New York State, one of whom, Harriman, was the incumbent. The rehabilitation of the name of Rockefeller which in my youth symbolised predatory capitalism with its labour-hating, "the public be damned" attitude, seems now complete.

The strong showing made by glamorous personalities, regardless of party, such as Senator Kennedy and Nelson Rockefeller is no doubt an indication of the spell cast by TV and of the tendency to which social psychologists like David Riesman call attention, namely, that voters know and care little about issues or where candidates stand on them.

They vote for the man with whom on other grounds they "identify" and whom, therefore, they expect to vote as they would. Riesman, by the way, recently observed in a group discussing US foreign policy that if Americans were deprived of TV and the issue of "anti-Communism" 90 per cent. of them would be in mental hospitals!

### Frustration at Little Rock

Two other items should be referred to. The rule that liberals or moderates won against reactionaries did not hold in the South.

It is a startling illustration of how utterly frustrated the people of Little Rock are today, people who three years ago were on the point of apathetically if not peaceably accepting gradual integration of their High Schools. As the bombing of synagogues and schools indicates, the extremists in the South are still riding high—maybe pressing their luck too hard?

The politicians have so far made no real effort to tame them down, much less stop them. The moderates, among professional people, women, clergy, are gradually making themselves felt. Morale continues high among Negroes struggling non-violently for equality.

It is in accord with the realities of the situation that a comment on the "Socialist" showing in the election is left as it were to a footnote. I have not at this writing seen a report of the vote cast for the few candidates of the anti-Communist Socialist Party-

Social Democratic Federation, but it was negligible. In New York state the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) and elements formerly in the Progressive Party and the American Labour Party set up a United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee.

### Mood is a-political

They succeeded in getting enough signatures to appear on the ballot, though they had to go to the courts for that validation. The vote for the top candidate (for US Senator) Corless Lamont was 37,000 in greater New York, where several million votes were cast and where such a party is more likely to make a showing than almost anywhere else in the country. It is conceded that upstate will not add many and that the party will be far short of the 50,000 votes to put it automatically on the ballot for the next election.

A meeting of these elements from various parts of the country will take place in Cleveland later this month. I took no part in the UI-SC campaign, though a number of its leaders were active in the American Forum—For Socialist Education, and am taking no part in the Cleveland conference. I am convinced that this approach will not help appreciably in developing an effective radical movement with socialist orientation in this country. It is not promoting genuine understanding and unity among various "socialist" elements, but is itself still an illustration of the fragmentation from which the movement has suffered. This being the case, it is not giving fresh, younger elements the impression that the period of splitting and frustration is over and therefore has not attracted them.

The objective situation here is certainly not favourable for political regroupment or new organisation on the Left. The prevailing mood in the country, including among youth, is a-political: the serious ones are more concerned about personal and family psychological problems, the possible "meaning" of life, and "adjustment" to a world which on the whole seems too complicated or boring to them for political manipulation.

If there is to be a radical political movement in a not-too-distant future there will first have to be more thorough discussion among "socialists" of all kinds and a profound psychological re-orientation which for the most part has not yet taken place and perhaps is not desired.

appears also to impede Mr. Taylor's vision in regard to his own support of the nuclear disarmament campaign.

He fails to see, apparently, that the fatal decision to use the Atom bomb has led irrevocably to the manufacture of the H-bomb, against which he is a leading campaigner. Stockpiling of H-bombs seems to him a matter for reproach, while the A-bomb, which was actually used against human beings, is not. Well! Well!

The very fact that the war against Hitler's Germany made it necessary for British people to be responsible for behaving like the worst of barbarians, is enough to prove that whatever the reasons for its undertaking, war can never be anything but evil and wrong.

If, however, Mr. Taylor is so sure that wars are not always wrong, there is no knowing when another occasion may not arise in which he would feel it was right to go to war. Little wonder he wants to make sure it will not be with nuclear weapons.

War contains in it all the ingredients for every kind of evil: falsehood, dishonesty, violence, cruelty, destruction and murder. Those who declare that this is a wrong against God and man; those who say clearly and loudly: "Never Again," are the realists today, for only the repudiation of war itself can save the future for mankind. (See "In Perspective," page four.) "Medals for Violence"—see Letters to the Editor, page five.

By Sybil Morrison

## CAESAR'S WIFE

*It is no good saying that all wars are wrong. Englishmen who remember the Second World War know that one war was right. There are many shameful things in our record; but from the moment war broke out we have nothing to reproach ourselves with . . . The first war may have been a war of the bosses. The second war was a war of the people.—A. J. P. Taylor, New Statesman November 14, 1958.*

more wars, and they also involve human beings in monstrous actions and utterly immoral expedients.

When Churchill embraced the Soviet Union as an ally, he did so, not because he had changed his mind as to the miseries and evil of the Police State, but for reasons of military expediency. The fulsome flattery poured out on Stalin was simply part of the strategy of this "right" war.

Indeed, it was this "right" war, this "people's" war, which resulted in Britain following Hitler's lead in conscripting boys barely out of school, and in bombing civilians in their homes. It was this people's war which involved the "obliteration bombing" of the German people; it was this people's war which led to the use of the Atom bomb against the Japanese people.

That crucial decision, was taken, as we now know, when Churchill and Truman

were already aware that the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow had indicated, through Stalin, that Japan was willing to make terms for capitulation.

Even if this had not been so, and no approach for a truce had been made, the decision, which was taken with Churchill's full and eager consent, was still an inhuman and immoral action, for which we should not only deeply reproach our leaders and ourselves, but which, it is now obvious, has brought upon our heads the dreadful retribution of the nuclear arms race.

To be able to find no grounds for reproach in the inhuman and insane "unconditional surrender" policy that made the callous destruction of German towns with all their living inhabitants, and the dropping of the atom bomb, with its dreadful consequences to human beings, a necessity, shows a blindness towards the truth which